

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

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PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 IO-14 SAM-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 AID-20

TRSE-00 NIC-01 OMB-01 DRC-01 /144 W
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P R 161429Z AUG 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4463

INFO USIA WASHDC PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 12997

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, GW, US, CY

SUBJECT: FRG PRESS REACTION TO CYPRUS CRISIS

SUMMARY: THE CYPRUS CRISIS DOMINATES THE NEWS MEDIA, AND EDITORIAL COMMENT DESCRIBES THE SITUATION IN DARK TERMS. TURKEY WAS WIDELY CONDEMNED FOR TAKING BY FORCE WHAT IT COULD NOT WIN AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE. THE U.S. AND PARTICULARLY SECRETARY KISSINGER CAME IN FOR WIDESPREAD CRITICISM FOR MISMANAGEMENT. NATO IS SEEN AS BEING INEFFECTIVE IN THE CRISIS AND ITS SOUTHERN FLANK NOW IN RUINS. THE SOVIET UNION IS THE LIKELY GAINER. END SUMMARY.

1. THE BREAKDOWN OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AND THE TURKISH MILITARY ACTION ON CYPRUS HAVE DOMINATED THE NEWS MEDIA HERE. TURKEY, THE U.S. AND NATO HAVE COME IN FOR HEAVY CRITICISM FOR THEIR RESPECTIVE ROLES IN A SITUATION WHICH IS WIDELY DEPICTED AS AN UNMITIGATED DISASTER FOR THE WEST.

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2. THAT TURKEY HAS USED UP THE STOCK OF GOOD WILL IT ENJOYED IN THE EARLIER STAGES OF THE CRISIS WAS CLEAR FROM COMMENT YESTERDAY AND TODAY, WHICH ACCUSED IT OF SEIZING BY FORCE WHAT IT COULD NOT WIN AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE IN GENEVA. THE FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG SAID: "THE TURKISH POSITION FOR TOUGH BUT REASONABLE POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS WAS AS GOOD AS IT COULD BE. NOW IT HAS BEEN DESTROYED. EVERY TURKISH BOOTSTEP AHEAD BECOMES AN ARGUMENT FOR PRESSURE FROM OUTSIDE. REGARDLESS WHETHER IT IS THE UN OR THE BIG POWERS OR THE ROLE OF NATO THAT IS JEOPARDIZED: ONE CANNOT SIMPLY LOOK ON AS SOMEONE TAKES BY FORCE WHAT HE COULD NOT OBTAIN AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN GENEVA.

3. NOR WAS THERE A GOOD WORD TO BE FOUND FOR THE AMERICAN ROLE IN THE CRISIS. SOME COMMENT REFERRED TO EARLIER FAILURE TO RESTRAIN THE GREEK COLONELS FROM SETTING OFF THE SAMPSON COUP. THE U.S., AND FREQUENTLY SECRETARY KISSINGER, WERE CRITICIZED FOR FAILING TO BRING TIMELY AND DECISIVE INFLUENCE TO BEAR ON ATHENS AND ANKARA, OF TIPPING TOWARD TURKEY FOR "REALPOLITIK" REASONS (WESTDEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG), AND FOR APPEARING HELPLESS AND INDECISIVE AT THE PROSPECT OF WHETHER AND HOW TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THE TWO CONTENDING PARTIES (SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG). KISSINGER'S WILLINGNESS TO ENGAGE IN WEEKS-LONG SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST WAS CONTRASTED WITH HIS NONAPPEARANCE IN THE CYPRUS CRISIS (FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG). SOME (FRANKFURTER NEUE PRESSE AND FIRST GERMAN TELEVISION) NOTED THAT THE U.S. HAD LIMITED LEVERAGE ON THE PARTIES IN THIS DISPUTE.

4. GREECE, WHICH HAS GAINED ENORMOUSLY IN SYMPATHY IN THE WEST GERMAN MEDIA SINCE THE RETURN OF KARAMANLIS, WAS SEEN AS ATTEMPTING, THROUGH ITS ANNOUNCED WITHDRAWAL FROM NATO'S MILITARY STRUCTURE, TO EXERCISE THE ONLY REAL LEVERAGE IT HAD IN THE SITUATION, THAT IS TO FORCE ITS NATO PARTNERS TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE IN ANKARA. COMMENTATORS ALSO TOOK NOTE OF THE CON-

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FLICTING REPORTS FROM ATHENS CONCERNING EXPULSION OF U.S. FORCES; SOME WERE NOT ENTIRELY CONVINCED BY THE DENIALS. A DIE WELT OBSERVER IN ATHENS SAID KARAMANLIS SCARCELY HAD A CHOICE BUT TO WITHDRAW FROM NATO, FOR ONLY BY SUCH A MOVE WAS HE ABLE TO DEFUSE A POSSIBLE EXPLOSION THAT COULD HAVE RESULTED IN WAR WITH TURKEY. THE STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG FOUND KARAMANLIS' POSTURE TOWARD THE U.S. UNDERSTANDABLE IN VIEW OF THE HISTORY

OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN GREECE IN THE PAST TWO DECADES
BUT WAS FEARFUL LEST ATHENS GO TOO FAR, FOR IT
STILL NEEDS AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT. THE
FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU WAS ALSO SYMPATHETIC TO ATHENS BUT
DUBIOUS ABOUT THE VALUE OF THE CARD -- THE GREEK ARMED

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FORCES -- IT WAS PLAYING IN NATO.

5. NATO ALSO CAME OFF BADLY IN COMMENT. THE FRANK-
FURTER NEUE PRESSE REFERRED TO ITS NAIVETE AND
NEGLIGENCE IN THE SITUATION. LOTHAR RUEHL ON SECOND
GERMAN TELEVISION NOTED THAT NATO SEEMS NEVER TO BE
ABLE TO PREPARE FOR AN EMERGENCY. THE STUTTGARTER
ZEITUNG CONTRASTED SARDONICALLY HOW NATO PATTED ITSELF
ON THE BACK IN JULY FOR ITS ROLE IN ARRANGING THE
CEASE FIRE AND HOW IT NOW IS BACKING AWAY IN
DISARRAY. THE QUESTION WHETHER NATO COULD EFFECTIVELY
ACT IN THE CYPRUS CONFLICT HAS BEEN ANSWERED BY
EVENT, SAID THE PAPER. THE ANSWER IS NO. INDEED, IT

WENT ON, NATO FINDS ITSELF USED AS AN INSTRUMENT OF PRESSURE BY GREECE AGAINST THE U.S. AND GREAT BRITAIN. THERE WERE ALSO WIDESPREAD REFERENCES TO THE SOUTHERN FLANK OF NATO AS LYING IN RUINS.

6. ALL WHO COMMENTED ON THE SOVIET ROLE -- AND THERE WERE MANY -- AGREED THAT MOSCOW COULD ONLY GAIN FROM THE UNCLASSIFIED

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CRISIS, THROUGH THE WEAKENING OF NATO WHICH IS TAKING PLACE, BY WINNING A VOICE IN THE SITUATION THROUGH POSSIBLE UNITED NATIONS INTERVENTION (THE CONSERVATIVE MUENCHNER MERKUR NOTED GLOOMILY THAT THE FACT IS THAT ONLY THE SECURITY COUNCIL NOW IS CAPABLE OF FORCING THE TWO BACK TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE), OR THROUGH INCREASED INFLUENCE EITHER IN ATHENS OR ANKARA (THE SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG SAID SOVIET CALCULATIONS SEEM TO ASSUME THAT ONE OF THE TWO WOULD SEEK SUPPORT IN MOSCOW).

7. ALMOST NO ONE FOUND ANY REASON FOR OPTIMISM. THE KOELNER STADT-ANZEIGER REFERRED VAGUELY TO THE POSSIBILITY OF A RETURN TO POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC MEANS, ONCE THE TURKS SECURED THE ATILLA LINE, AND THE NEUE RHEIN ZEITUNG SAID THE ONLY BRIGHT SPOT IN THE ENTIRE MESS NOW IS THE COMPOSURE BEING SHOWN BY THE GREEK GOVERNMENT. HILLENBRAND

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